

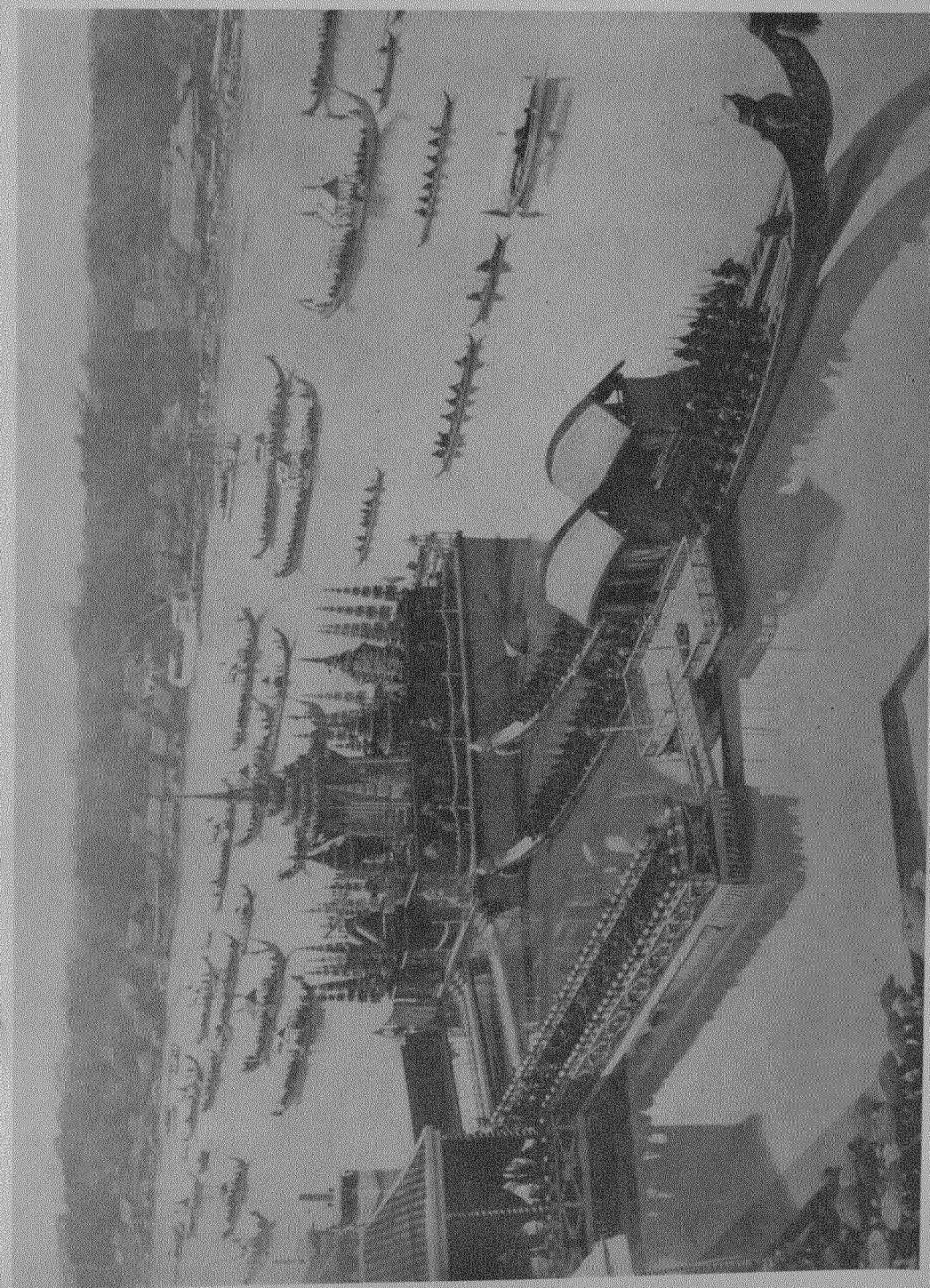
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES
ON
SIAMESE
STATE CEREMONIES

BY
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THE RIVER-BATHING CEREMONY AS LAST PERFORMED IN 1887.

PREFACE

The subject of my 1931 book is one which George Coedès in his review of it considered "d'importance primordiale pour la connaissance du pays". Hence it is undoubtedly worthy of the continuing attention of scholars. That I had not done full justice to an absorbing subject I was aware when in my preface I called it a pioneer work, and on the penultimate page spoke of the many gaps that required to be bridged. Now "forty years on" there could be no question of my attempting a revised edition. For one thing that could well have meant the loss of everything deriving from that contact with the "atmosphere" of the Court to which I then felt very close. That is surely something worth preserving now that we begin to realize that the era ending in 1932 still belonged to that Old Siam which then appeared to have closed some half century earlier.

With few exceptions the kind of penetrating studies that I hoped to see as paving the way for a definitive work of the future have not yet materialized. Phya Anuman Rajadhon's excellent series of articles in *JSS*, designed to salvage the memories of disappearing customs, have brought valuable elucidations whenever they have sufficiently approached our inquiry; and Kenneth Wells' book mentioned below has admirably filled the lacuna on Siamese Buddhism. But it is because my book is still regarded by many as a standard work that it has seemed worth while, indeed a matter of duty, to repair at least some of its shortcomings.

These Notes have been made possible partly by the fact that I never lost interest in the Ceremonies, occasionally looking again at those texts which form our main sources and noting particulars which I might well have included. But I must add that this has not involved any thorough-going re-study of such texts. Again I would take the opportunity of stressing that any future use of the voluminous writings of King Rama V will always involve judicious selection, bearing in mind that the royal author was addressing a contemporary Siamese audience. Further, and perhaps most fruitfully, these Notes have benefited from constructive criticisms made by two of my reviewers: firstly the painstaking analysis by G. Coedès which appeared in *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXII, 1932, pp. 331-338 (abbreviated Coedès, rev.); and secondly, from the Indian side, an unsigned review that appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI, pt. 3, 1932 (abbreviated *JIH*, rev). But where I have not referred to a point raised in either of these reviews it

does not mean that I have not given it my consideration. Finally there have been my own corrections of some errors that escaped the notice of even the most meticulous reviewers and correspondents; as well as references to matters that have occurred to me as a result of wider reading or are consequent on the general progress of related researches. The only ceremony of which I here give a full account is the River-bathing ceremony which was not included in the book. The omission of this spectacular ceremony was however soon made good by an article I devoted to it in a journal, of which a corrected version is here given, accompanied now by an illustration of the last occasion on which it was performed.

In addition to stimulating further research by specialists in Siamese culture it is to be hoped that these Notes will increase the interest and usefulness of the book to readers who have in the past found that it has some bearing on their own particular fields.

H. G. Q. W.

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Siamese State Ceremonies :

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CHAPTER I

SCOPE AND SOURCES

p. 3, l. 24. The desired research into Siamese Buddhism has now been adequately undertaken by Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism, its rites and activities*, Bangkok, 1939.

p. 7, l. 28. Exceptions to the disappointing character of Khmer inscriptions are referred to in the Notes for page 121 and Chapter IX below.

p. 8. The 1916 edition of the *Evidence of Khun Hlwan Hā Vāt* is an incomplete edition of the translation made in the fourth reign from the Môn version (part of which was translated into English in JSS xxviii and xxix, 1935 and 1936). This incomplete printed edition from the Môn version lacked the section on ceremonies which was utilized by King Rāma V, who had access to the manuscript. A later discovered Burmese version, translated into Siamese in 1911, was printed by the National Library in complete form in 1925, under a title meaning *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, it now being realized that several Ayudhyan prisoners of war had contributed the information. It was not available to King Rāma V, but is referred to in these Notes when (very rarely) there is any reason to do so.¹

CHAPTER II

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF SIAMESE CULTURE

pp. 12, 13. There is no evidence to connect Nagara Paṭhama with Suvarṇabhumi and Aśoka's mission. The Buddhist remains there do not appear to date from earlier than the sixth century A.D. and are not Mahāyānist. However at Ūdòn (U T'ong), not far away, Buddhist remains of Amarāvātī style possibly of the third or fourth century A.D., have been found. The region then seems to have formed part of the Fu-nan empire, the independent Môn kingdom of Dvāravatī not coming into existence until the sixth century. It remained independent until early eleventh century and its art style was late Gupta not Sarnath. Though Hīnayāna Buddhism was predominant in Dvāravatī, there is evidence of some Hinduism, but no reason to believe that Mahāyānism, though known, ever took root.² After the conquest of Dvāravatī by

¹ The bibliographical reference in my *Ancient South-east Asian Warfare*, page 125, note 1, is inaccurate.

² Cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Dvāravatī*, London, 1969.

the Khmers, early in the eleventh century, many Khmer temples were erected, but they were not, as stated in the text, all Brahmanic: Phimai and Labapuri were Buddhist. It is not now thought that the Thai established the Yunnan kingdom of Nanchao.

p. 14, l. 1. It is doubtful whether the Thai ever had any contact with Mahāyānism in Yunnan; they were probably purely animistic as they moved into the Indochinese river valleys.

p. 14, l. 9. *For 1276 read about 1275.*

p. 14, l. 14. *For 1317 read about 1317.*

p. 18. As Coedès pointed out in his review, besides borrowings from Chinese culture, the possibility of common origins has to be kept in mind.

p. 19, l. 4. Indian Mahāyānist influence: the route followed cannot be so definitely defined as stated by me. There is no evidence for its introduction into South-east Asia before the sixth century; and no reason to believe it ever influenced the Thai.

p. 19, l. 16. Indian Śaiva Brahmanism: *for* between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D., *read* fifth to seventh centuries.

p. 19, l. 28. Sinhalese Hinayānist influence: Peguan influences did not in fact reach Northern Siam about the twelfth century. The Buddhism of Lāmbūn in Northern Siam was not Peguan, but reached that region in the eighth century, having been brought by Môn colonists from Labapuri, one of the centres of the Dvāravatī kingdom.

p. 20, l. 7. To what extent the Siamese were indebted to the earlier Indianized civilization of the Môn (of Dvāravatī) is a matter on which it is not yet possible to speak with any certainty.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SIAMESE

The subject of this chapter is treated more fully in my book *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, London, 1934, repr. New York, 1965.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINGSHIP

pp. 29 sq. What is said here of the Royal God, or Deva-rāja cult, of the Khmers would have to be modified considerably in view of the progress of research. It differs in important respects from the *linga* cults

of Central Java and Champa, and cannot be traced to a South Indian origin. At least, as Coedès has put it, "if it comes from purely Indian ideas it has been extended in Cambodia in a way that its origins cannot completely explain".¹ The manner in which this extension is due to local factors has been studied by me in *The Making of Greater India*. One result of this extension which concerns the Siamese is that through Khmer influence the divinity of the king was more extreme than in Indian theory. It is probably to this, rather than to any Buddhist conception, that the Siamese owe their ideas on divine kingship. But while the Khmer royal religion had a chthonic bias, it would seem that the Siamese more readily comprehended and accepted those Indian ideas which stressed the uranic or solar aspect of divinity.

p. 31, l. 2. Besides the calling down of Viṣṇu and Śiva to animate the new king at the Coronation, there is another indication of the survival of the cult of the Royal God. The statues of Buddha cast for each reign (see Chapter XIII) were considered by Coedès (rev.) to be more than a mere act of merit. As he says, "Les Siamois n'en savent pas plus ou n'en veulent pas dire plus". This comment, in my opinion, would apply equally to the attitude of those modern Siamese who would deny that the divinity of the king, etc., was ever taken seriously.

pp. 33 sq. The *khvāñ* spirit is referred to in this book mainly in connection with the Tonsure (Chapter X). A detailed study of the beliefs and rites connected with this spirit has been published by Phya Anuman: "The Kwan and its ceremonies", *JSS*, Vol. L, pt. 2, 1962, pp. 119-161. The corresponding Cambodian beliefs in *pralin* (vital spirits) have been studied by Mme E. Porée Maspero, "La Cérémonie de l'appel des Esprits vitaux chez les Cambodgiens", *BEFEO*, XLV, pt. 1, pp. 146-183.

p. 36. The King was not supposed to touch the ground. Coedès (rev.) suggested that, if the king represented the sun, the taboo was inspired by fear that the feet of the sun god would burn the ground, causing calamities.

p. 37. It was taboo to spill royal blood. Rather than being due to respect for the royal blood, Coedès (rev.) again stresses the magical import of the taboo, suggesting that it was based on fear that the king's blood would burn the earth. In a very interesting note on "The Manner of executing Princes of the Blood Royal", F. H. Giles² quotes and interprets a difficult reference in *KM* to the mode of execution of princes in the Ayudhyā period, and the ceremonial dance that preceded

¹ G. Coedès, "Note sur l'Apothéose au Cambodge", *Bull. Comm. Archéolog. de l'Indochine*, 1911, p. 48.

² "Analysis of van Vliet's Account of Siam", *JSS*, xxx, pt. 2, p. 203.

it; he also gives some details as to the method followed under the Bangkok dynasty, on information supplied by a high personage. His conclusion that "it was deemed improper that the blood of a Prince should stain Mother Earth" seems not far removed from Coedès' suggestion.

p. 39. The personal name of the King was taboo. The first three kings of the Cākri dynasty did have personal names, phonetically transliterated as Duong, Chīm and T'āp respectively (Coedès, rev.). The *posthumous* names of the first two kings were given by the third king, after the names of Buddha images he had dedicated to them (BRB, pp. 234-236), and nothing to do with Bodhisattvas. The posthumous name of the third king, meaning "the lord seated on the head (of his subjects)" was given by Rāma IV.

p. 40, l. 5. For *seway* read *vey*. For this and other corrections in transliteration I am indebted to Coedès, rev.

CHAPTER V

THE COURT BRAHMANS

p. 55, l. 1. The images labelled as Harihara after they had been transferred to the National Museum are so labelled only hypothetically, owing to their mixed attributes. Coedès (rev.) states that all these images, even if in Khmer or Indian style, are of Siamese make and not earlier than the fourteenth century.

p. 56, l. 5. Another *mantra* "Pūjā murai" (mentioned on p. 63 under Vol. D) was recognized as Tamil by *JIH* reviewer. Recently other Tamil chants have been recognized in the National Library collection, and a preliminary study of them and of the scripts used has been made by J. R. Marr,¹ to which the reader is referred for details. The scripts used are evidence of contact with both South India and Cambodia.

p. 61, l. 6 from bottom. The origin from Mount Kailāsa claimed by the Cambodian Brahmans may have a rational explanation in their possible derivation from a South Indian spiritual line who call themselves Kailāsa-paramparā (Sanskrit) or Kayilāparamparai (Tamil), suggests J. Filliozat.² This is paralleled to a certain extent in the

¹ J. R. Marr, "Some Manuscripts in the Grantha Script in Bangkok", *Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies*, XXXII, pt. 2, 1969.

² J. Filliozat, "Kailāsaparamparā", *Prince Dhani's Felicitation Volumes*, II, pp. 241-248.

interpretation given by A. B. Griswold¹ of the story of eight Indian monks who told King Kyanzittha of Burma about their former residence on Mount Gandhamādana, which might not be an imaginary place in the Himalayan fairyland, but an abode in Orissa that copied it.

p. 62, l. 6. In the Ayudhyā period the *purohita* was certainly a Brahman, a head of those Brahmans concerned with the administration of justice.²

p. 62, l. 8. According to the *KM*, if their prognostications proved false, the astrologers were liable to severe punishment, as indeed they were for other faults.

p. 62, l. 10 from bottom. That the astrologers took the steamship schedules into consideration is doubted by Coedès (rev.), and he cites an instance in 1930 when, following a fatal accident to a lady-in-waiting on a journey to Indochina, the king publicly blamed himself for having ignored the astrologer's dates.

p. 63, l. 7 from bottom. For "Guṣatī sānveyak lōm^ṽ jān^ṽ" read "Tuṣṭi sānvey klōm^ṽ jān^ṽ".

CHAPTERS VI, VII, AND VIII

CORONATION

p. 67, l. 3. For law of A.D. 1360 read *KM* of 1458.

p. 67, n. 3. For *Kaṭhmāy* read *Catmāy*.

p. 71, l. 6 from bottom. For the temple containing the beautiful jewel of the monastery of the divine teacher read the temple of the Master (Buddha) [made of] the sacred jewel. (Coedès, rev.).

p. 72, last line. After New Year Festivals add also *Lañ Srañ* (BRB, p. 163).

p. 73, notes 2 and 3. On *paritta suttas*, *sāy siñcana* and Candle of Victory K. Wells, op. cit., may also be consulted.

p. 74. Plate VII, showing the King in the Ablution Pavilion, may be compared with the famous painting in Cave I, Ajanta, showing the ceremonial bath of a prince.

p. 77, l. 8. The statement that the Siamese national lower garment (*phā-nuñ*) was not derived from Cambodia is questioned by Coedès (rev.), and no doubt rightly. He points out that on the Añkor Vāt

¹ A. B. Griswold, *Burma, Korea, Tibet*, London, 1964, p. 31. The story is from the *Glass Palace Chronicle*.

² Cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 99 and Chapter VIII.

reliefs the Khmers wear the *sampot*, identical with the Siamese *phā-nuñ*, while the Siamese on those reliefs wear a skirt or wide trousers. The classical Khmer feminine lower garment was, however, a skirt or sarong (cf. p. 118).

p. 81, l. 14. In the Vedic *Rājasūya* there was actually a symbolic foray or sham fight; but, comments the *JIH* review, "it must be remembered that the *Rājasūya* is a ceremony of the coronation of one who has already established his overlordship by a series of conquests, or by acknowledgement of his overlordship, so that the representation of a fight is quite in place. The idea is absent in the Mahābhīṣeka of Indra."

p. 82, end of section 6. If no longer recognized, there is surely an underlying magical significance in this ceremony on the Octagonal Throne, designed to bring the king's realm as a microcosm into harmony with the universe.

p. 83, l. 3. The Whisk of the Yak's Tail: for *jāmri* read *cāmari*.

p. 90, l. 3. For *upathāmbhak* read *upatthambhak*.

p. 95, l. 6. If we can explain the multi-tiered umbrellas of Siam on the theory of accumulation of honour, this can only mean that recognition of an underlying cosmological symbolism, with the tiers representing heavens and the shaft the axis of the universe, has been lost. Neither in the Ceremony on the Octagonal Throne, nor in the Coronation Progress, does there seem to have survived any vivid consciousness of cosmo-magical symbolism, though this was a feature of many South-east Asian civilizations. Cf. R. Heine Geldern "Conception of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia", *Far Eastern Quarterly*, November 1942.

p. 96, l. 21. For Syam Kut read Syām Kuk.

p. 97, l. 13. The relief in a certain temple at Sukhodaya refers to one of the Jataka reliefs of Vāt Śrī Cum (L. Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancien*, Vol. II, pl. XI).

p. 97, l. 14 from bottom. For the Indo-Javanese art of Śrīvijaya read Central Javanese art.

p. 98. The Sword of Victory. Coedès (rev.) denies the existence of a Jayavarman II tradition concerning the *Brah Kharga* and says that later Cambodian kings adopted the sword from Siam. Originally the *phgak* had been the Khmer royal weapon, the sword merely an emblem with which feudatories, including the Thai, were invested. The latter had thus given it leading status when they became independent, and it was in this role that the Cambodians later accepted it. The *phgak* has been incorporated in the Siamese regalia (p. 83) as the "hostage sword" or "weapon of the prisoners of war".

p. 100. As to the Sceptre *JIH* review points out that we have the

danda, or rod of punishment, in Sanskrit literature, and in Tamil literature the sceptre itself is referred to under a term meaning "rod of righteousness".

p. 102, l. 24. For *janam* read *janma*.

p. 104, l. 6. For in a thirteenth century inscription at Añkor Vāt, and believed to refer to the founder of that temple read a post-thirteenth century inscription and referring to a post-thirteenth century king (Coedès, rev.).

p. 104, l. 7 from bottom. For dharmikrājā read dharmikarājā.

p. 104, n. 1. For A.ii, p. 258 read A.iii, p. 238.

p. 105, l. 9. For agulaya read atulya.

p. 105, l. 17. For sakla read sakala.

p. 105, l. 20. For krunā read karuṇā.

p. 106, l. 12. The Long Handled Sword was evidently a Japanese sword. Such were in use in Malaya (G. B. Gardner, *Keris and other Malay weapons*, Pl. 50.4), and in Cambodia (Gro. Fig. 55 L).

p. 107, l. 18. "Solar origin" is too strong a term.

p. 109, l. 6. The coronation procession of King Sisowath cannot be invoked as evidence of the origin of the Siamese royal procession, since by this time Siamese influence in Cambodia was strong (Coedès, rev.).

p. 109, l. 17. The chariot is a typically Khmer form of royal vehicle, but for ceremonial purposes only, as a result of Indian Epic influences. It was not used in warfare.¹

p. 109, l. 27. The Cambodian king changed his head-dress each time he changed his vehicle, probably symbolizing his representation in turn of each of the kings of the cardinal points. This would be as part of the symbolism which regards the city as a microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm of the universe or city of the gods.²

p. 111, l. 18. For *Rājācavinicachāy* read *Rājācavinicchāy*.

p. 113, l. 15 from bottom. Cheou Ta-Kouan was probably speaking of junks, not of royal barges. Later he describes the royal barges quite correctly (Coedès, rev.).

p. 115, l. 4. I should not now speak of the Burmese *prāsāda* (*phyathat*) being "evolved in Burma", but rather of its being derived from a lost temple type of Bengal.³

p. 115, l. 17. The Chinese junk is depicted on the reliefs of the Bayon, not of Añkor Vāt. The paddles of the barges on the reliefs were not thrust through holes in the sides; they were used as oars and

¹ H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient South-east Asian Warfare*, p. 84.

² G. Coedès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, 1947, p. 98.

³ H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, 2nd edn, p. 49.

thrust through gaps below screens. This applies to the war barges only, and was the only means of giving the rowers some protection.¹

p. 117. The Siamese lower garment : see my correction in the Note to page 77 above.

CHAPTER IX

HIGHER GRADES IN ROYAL CONSECRATION

p. 121. *Puṣyābhiṣeka*. This is mentioned in stanza xix of the inscription of Prāsāt Hè Phkā.² The Khmer king Rajendravarman obtained the throne in the month of Puṣya and had received the *Puṣyābhiṣeka* consecration.

pp. 121-123. *Indrābhiṣeka*. In *BEFEO*, XXXII, p. 74, n. 4, Coedès observed that the correct date of the performance of this ceremony in the reign of Rāmādhīpatī II is A.D. 1496, probably on the occasion of the king's twenty-fifth birthday. With regard to my translation of the difficult passage in *KM* which describes this ceremony, Coedès (rev.) made a number of corrections and improvements which are incorporated in the following :

"For the royal ceremony of *Indrābhiṣeka* a Meru, of a height of 1 *sen* 5 *vā*,³ is built in the middle of an open space. There Indra sits on the Meru, surrounded by Isindhara and Yugundhara mountains, one *sen* high ; and there stands Karavika Mountain 15 *vā* high and Mount Kailāsa 10 *vā* high. On the inside are golden umbrellas, in the middle are red-gold umbrellas, and those of silver are outside. Outside these again is a *rājavāt* fence with umbrellas of five colours. Within the umbrellas stand figures of *devatā*, and outside them is a *rājavāt* fence. Paper umbrellas and figures of giants (*yākṣa*, *gandharba*, *rākṣaṣa*) stand at the foot of the Meru ; and there are figures of various kinds of lions (*gajasīha*, *rājasīha*, *sin̄to*, *kilen*) goat-antelopes, elephants, cows, buffaloes, tigers, bears, and *devatā* all over Kailāsa. On the summit of Meru sits a figure of Śiva and graceful Umā. Figures of Indra and *asuras* are in the middle of the Meru ; Viṣṇu sleeps on the water at the foot of the Meru, and a seven-headed *nāga* encircles the Meru. Outside the open space stand *asuras*, and outside the walls are dancing halls. Lictors are dressed as 100 *asuras*, and pages represent 100 *devatā*. There are Bālī, Sugrīva, Mahājambhū, and a train of 103 monkeys.

¹ Cf. P. Paris, "Lex Bateaux des bas reliefs Khmers", *BEFEO*, XLI, pt. 2, p. 354, where he also discusses the more remote ancestry of the craft.

² G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. IV, p. 87.

³ 1 *vā* = 1 fathom, 1 *sen* = 20 fathoms.

They pull the ancient *nāga* ; the *asuras* pull the head, the *devatā* pull the tail, and the monkeys are at the end of the tail. One side of the Meru is gold, one side is red-gold, one side crystal, one side silver, the Yugundhara mountain is gold, the Isindhara is red-gold, Karavika and Kailāsa are silver. On the surrounding space outside are elephants, horses, and the four divisions of the army. Officials of 10,000 marks of dignity wear diadems,¹ and put on coats and silk *phā-nuñ* of honour. Those of 5,000 grade wear golden hats and put on coats and splendid silk *phā-nuñ*. Those of 3,000 wear hats of foreign silk and coats and silk *phā-nuñ*. Those of 2,400 to 1,200 marks of dignity carry silver and gold flowers according to rank, with flowers and pop-corn to pay homage. Brahmans of various sects sit within the enclosure. On the first day there is a penance [a preparatory retreat] ; on the second and third days they start the building ; on the fourth the construction is finished ; on the fifth day they pull the ancient *nāga*. On the sixth day they make three pools of angelic water, a three-headed elephant, a white horse, a king of oxen, the king of Garuḍas and Nang Tārā [meaning Śrī, since it is the products of the churning which are being referred to] before the king's seat. They take arms, elephant weapons, and ropes for catching elephants, and steep them in water. A hundred men dressed in brocade and led by Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra, and Viṣvakarmā, and carrying their emblems, come to salute the king. On the seventh day the Brahmans render homage and on the eighth day the princes pay homage, on the ninth day they offer the elephants and horses and the four divisions of the army ; on the tenth day they offer the twelve treasuries ; on the eleventh day they offer the taxes ; on the twelfth day they offer the city ; on the thirteenth day they offer the consecrated water ; on the fourteenth day they make offerings to the *devatā* ; on the fifteenth day the king makes presents to the princes ; on the sixteenth day to the officials ; on the seventeenth day the king rewards the Brahmans ; on the eighteenth day there are offerings of *kalpavṛkṣa* fruits ;² on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first days gold and silver flowers are scattered. For a month theatricals are performed. They build a standing effigy of a giant 1 *sen* high. The pages represent monkeys and go out through openings in its ears, nose, eyes, and mouth, and the king drives a royal car scattering alms about the city. This is the end of *Indrābhiṣeka*.³

¹ These are of a certain kind described by Coedès in *JSS*, xvi, p. 38.

² See page 146.

³ The above translation now appears to me to be entirely satisfactory. However, in comparing it with the partial translation given by Prince Dhani in connection

Coedès points out in *BEFEO*, XXXII, p. 74 that *Indrābhiseka* is mentioned in a Bayon inscription where it explains the king's going into a quiet retreat before the rite, and also the next bas-relief scene where athletes and jugglers are performing, as was also the case in connection with the Siamese ceremony.

In my last paragraph in the text on this ceremony I was at a loss to appreciate the connection between the churning and the idea of an *Indrābhiseka*. This evoked an enlightening response from *JIH* review: "The connection is intimate. *Indrābhiseka* is a ceremony symbolizing the re-installation of Indra in his position after having lost his wealth and position as the result of the slaying of *Vṛitra*, and the recovery of it was after a long period of penance by the churning of the ocean of milk."

CHAPTER X

TONSURE—AND OTHER INITIATIONS

Apart from correcting *Sikkhā* for *Sikjā* in the fifth line of p. 126, and mentioning that the *Traibhūmi* of A.D. 1776 referred to on p. 127 is King *Tāk*'s recension, the first version going back to the reign of King Lu'dai of Sukhodaya, I say no more on the Tonsure Ceremony. The other initiation rites (*samskāras*) mentioned on p. 126 would not qualify for consideration in a work on state ceremonies, and have moreover been dealt with by me elsewhere.¹ Exception should, however, be made for the River-bathing Ceremony, and it was in view of this omission that I published an article on it not long after my book made its appearance.² A few errors and omissions in this were shortly afterwards noted by R. Lingat,³ which are taken into account in this revised description.

THE RIVER-BATHING CEREMONY

Nahānaḥ tīttha maṅgalaṃ (Pāli, *tīttha* landing-place, *nahānaṃ* = bathing, *maṅgala* auspicious) is the classic term applied to the River-bathing Ceremony in Siam, but the popular form of the ceremony

with his interpretation of the supposed representation of the ceremony on a lacquer screen in the Grand Palace (*Artibus Asiae*, XXIV, 3/4, 1961, pp. 276, 281) one notices a few discrepancies.

¹ H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Siamese Theory and Ritual connected with Pregnancy, Birth, and Infancy", *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXIII, 1933, pp. 441-451.

² H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Nahānaḥ Tīttha Maṅgala, the River bathing Ceremony in Siam", *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pt. 4, 1932, pp. 957-962.

³ R. Lingat in *JSS*, Vol. xxvii, pp. 127 sq.

was formerly known as *bidhī maṅgala laṅ dā sōn vāy nām* "auspicious rite of taking the child out to bathe at a river (or sea) landing and teaching him to swim". The name of the popular form of the ceremony is interesting as showing that in former times the ceremony retained its early function of marking a definite stage in the development of the child, an occasion on which it was taught to swim, and after which it would be regarded as more independent and capable of taking care of itself. This stage of initiation was immediately antecedent to that marked by the tonsure, after which the initiate was regarded as having definitely bidden farewell to childhood days. The importance of the river-bathing ceremony in the social life of a people like the Siamese, whose welfare largely depended on their being amphibious at an early age, is evident. But like most of the other *samskāras*, probably as a result of the influence of Buddhism, the popular ceremony lost its hold on the people and died out about 180 years ago, after which the ceremony as performed for *Cau Fā* princes and princesses, in practice only the heir apparent, alone remained in favour. This royal ceremony was performed in the ninth, eleventh, or thirteenth year of age, and is called simply *bidhī laṅ sraṅ* "the bathing ceremony". It will be seen from the account which follows, that the observance has lost its early function and degenerated into a rather meaningless ceremonial bath and *abhiseka*, in analogy to many other royal ceremonies.

I am not aware of the existence of any record of the manner in which the popular form of the ceremony was performed, but there is material for a fairly detailed description of the river-bathing ceremony of *Cau Fās*. The following account refers to the first occasion on which the *laṅ sraṅ* was revived at Bangkok, after the destruction in A.D. 1767 of the old capital, Ayudhyā, and it became the model for future royal ceremonies of the kind.¹

In the year A.D. 1813 the eldest son of King Rāma II by a royal mother attained the age of nine years, and his father reflected that, whereas in the first reign tonsures had been performed in the style of those of Ayudhyā, the river-bathing ceremony of *Cau Fās* had not yet been carried out. The older people who had seen this ceremony at Ayudhyā had nearly all died, and the knowledge of the way in which it should be carried out would soon be lost. Accordingly, at the coming of the fourth month (Phālguna), Prince *Cau Fā Kram Hlvaṅ Bidakṣa*

¹ My authority is Prince Damrong's *History of the Second Reign*, pp. 144-149, the author basing his account on the contemporary Bangkok annals by *Cau Brahyā Dibākraṇaṣa*, together with the official regulations for carrying out the ceremony.

Mantri and Caṅ^ṇ Brahyā Śrīdharmādhirāja were appointed superintendents of the river-bathing ceremony of the young prince.

The preparations for the *lan sraṇ* resembled those for the *sokāṇṭa* (tonsure of Caṅ^ṇ *Fās*) except that instead of a Kailāsa mountain being built within the Grand Palace enclosure, a four-sided spire-roofed shrine (*maṇḍapa*) was erected on a pontoon, similar to those used for Siamese floating houses. The pontoon was moored at the royal landing, and the *maṇḍapa*, which stood on the central part of the pontoon, was built of figwood (*udumbara*) covered with white cloth, and had carved doors at each of the four sides. Beneath the *maṇḍapa* the pontoon was cut away to make a bathing-pool, with a floor beneath the water-level made of a trellis of strong bamboo laths, protected on the outside by the meshes of a net, while the inside of the floor and walls of the bathing pool were covered with cloth. Thus a safe artificial bathing place was constructed, into which the river water was admitted but from which noxious aquatic animals were excluded. Running round the edge of the bathing pool, at the water-level, was a foot-board on which people could stand, and to which access was obtained from the floor of the pontoon by means of three ladders, a silver one on the north, a gilded one on the south, and a so-called "crystal" one on the eastern side, which was nearest to the landing-place. On the western edge of the pool, within the *maṇḍapa*, was placed a seat of two stages for the *mūrdhābhīṣeka*, while three artificial prawns, of gold, red-gold, and silver respectively, three fish of similar materials, a pair of gilded coco-nuts, and a pair of silvered ones, were also placed at hand. Possibly the artificial prawns and fish were meant to represent the wonderful aquatic fauna of the Anotatta lake in the Himālayan fairyland, while it may be presumed, on the analogy of the bundle of coco-nuts carried on royal barges in lieu of life-belts, that the gilded and silvered coco-nuts used in this ceremony were intended to be used as floats by the young prince.

The *maṇḍapa* was surrounded by three concentric rows of *rājavāt* fences, decorated with gold, red-gold, and silver umbrellas respectively. At the four corners of the *maṇḍapa* the Brahmans placed tables to support the chank-shell water, and the consecrated water called *nām^ṇ krat* "sharp or powerful water", for sacrificing for victory. During the ceremony, soldiers armed with lances, the handles of which were draped in gold, stood within the middle fence, ten men to each of the three exposed sides. Between the middle and outer fences stood soldiers armed with iron swords, fifteen to each of the three sides. Outside the outer fence there were soldiers armed with swords, sixteen to each of the three sides, while in the water near the raft there were soldiers

similarly armed, to the number of sixteen on each of the three sides. On the north side of the pontoon, outside the fences, stood soldiers armed with flint-locks. Pavilion-barges were moored alongside the landing, while monkey barges, garuḍa barges, guard boats, and war barges with figure-heads representing various animals, the paddlers wearing red hats and coats, cast anchor in a circle to the number of thirty-nine boats. There were boats manned by crocodile hunters, and boats casting nets in order to catch any malignant beasts which might enter the protected circle, and endanger the safety of the young prince during the ceremony. Inside the Grand Palace enclosure, a pavilion was erected for the Brahmanic rites and a hallowed circle (*brahḍeṇ maṇḍala*) was prepared in the Tusīṭa Mahā Prāsāda (throne hall) for the recitation of auspicious stanzas by the Buddhist monks. Protective threads (*sāy siṅcana*) of unspun cotton were passed round each of the places at which rites were to be performed in order to preserve them from evil influences, as in the Tonsure ceremony.

On Friday, the fourth day of the waxing of the fourth month, the young prince was attired in white in the Baiśāla Dakṣina section of the Royal Residence, whence, in the afternoon, he proceeded in state accompanied by a procession similar to that of the Tonsure, by a circuitous route partly outside the palace wall, to the Tusīṭa Mahā Prāsāda. There the king, who had gone by a more direct route, was waiting to assist him from his palanquin. The palace ladies led him by the hand and invited him to have his feet washed by the pages in a silver basin. When this had been done he entered the throne hall, sat down within the hallowed circle, and listened to the recitation of *paritta suttas*. Afterwards the king entered and lit candles of worship, repeated the *śīla* precepts, and remained to listen to the *paritta* recitations until they were finished. The palace ladies then led the prince to the mounting stairs, and the king assisted him to mount his palanquin, after which he returned with the procession to the Royal Residence. Similarly, on the following two evenings, the prince went in state to listen to the Buddhist recitations, but this is to be regarded merely as the preparation which is the prelude to most important royal ceremonies.

On Monday, the seventh of the waxing, in the morning, fifteen monks went to recite auspicious stanzas at the bathing place. When the prince arrived in state, the king assisted him from his palanquin, and the palace ladies led him to the landing where he removed his shoes and ornaments. As the auspicious time drew near, the king led the prince by the hand from the landing to the "raft of scented water". Then Prince Bidakṣa Mantri took the young prince by the hand and,

following the king, they went to the *maṇḍapa*. The king sat upon a chair within the *rājavāt* fences, and the prince sat on a cushion near the chair. The *Brah Mahā Rāja Grū* (High Priest of Śiva) floated the gold, red-gold, and silver prawns and fish, and the two pairs of gilded and silvered coco-nuts in the bathing pool. The *horā* (astrologer) made an oblation to the water at the auspicious time of 7.18 a.m. Officials beat the Gong of Victory, sounded the conches and other musical instruments, and fired signal guns in the bows of the barges, all at the same time. The king carried the young prince to the "crystal ladder" and Prince Cau^ṣ Fā^ṣ Kram Khun Isārānurākṣa (the Uparāja) received him in his arms and carried him down to the bathing pool. He let him seize the coco-nuts and bathe in the river water in the pool. Then he brought him up and placed him on the anointment seat, where the young prince was sprinkled by the king with water from a dextrorse chank. The *Sāṅgharāja* sprinkled him with water which had been consecrated by means of the recitation of Buddhist *mantras*, the senior members of the royal family sprinkled him with water from sacred lotus gourds, and lastly, the Brahmins offered chank-water and *nām krat*. When this bathing in scented waters was finished and the young prince had changed his wet robes and was dressed in royal ceremonial dress, he was accompanied by Prince Bidakṣa Mantri to the landing. There the procession was already drawn up, its members having now donned red garments. The king having assisted the prince to mount the palanquin, the procession returned in state to the Royal Residence via the circuitous route outside the walls, but the king proceeded to the Tusita Mahā Prāsāda and made offerings to the monks who had officiated. Later, the prince, having removed his ceremonial attire and dressed himself as usual, went by the short inner route to the Tusita Mahā Prāsāda and made offerings to the monks, afterwards returning by the same way.

Meanwhile in the Cākṛabartibimān section of the Royal Residence officials had set up three *paī-śrīs* of gold, silver, and crystal respectively bearing offerings of food; and in front of these they had placed the young prince's throne. In the afternoon, the young Cau^ṣ Fā^ṣ, dressed in the attire of a prince of the highest rank, went in state procession to the Cākṛabartibimān, where the king received him and escorted him to the golden throne prepared for him. He was now about to relinquish the personal name that had been given him at the naming ceremony a month after birth. At the auspicious time of 2.36 p.m. the ceremonial instruments were sounded, and a golden plate (*subarnapaṭa*) was presented to the prince, on which were inscribed his new style and title,

as follows: Cau^ṣ Fā^ṣ Maṅkuṭ Sammutidevāvaṇṣa Baṇṣa Israkṣātriya Khāṭiya Rājakumāra. Then the taper-waving rite (*vian dian*) was performed by the Brahmins, for the benefit of the prince. The final rite of the *lañ srañ*, as of the Tonsure, was the *sambhoj*, or feast, in which the young prince partook of a small quantity of coconut milk mixed with food from the *paī-śrīs*, as nourishment for his *khvāñ* spirit. This rite was repeated twice again, on the eighth and ninth days of the waxing, being thus performed thrice in all.

It should be remarked that it was more usual and proper in Siam to change the names and title of persons of the royal family after they had undergone the tonsure, for not only does that ceremony symbolize a more complete break with childhood, but there is also the classical Indian precedent of the god Khandhakumāra, whose name was changed to Mahā Vighneṣa after tonsure.

Owing to the lack of Cau^ṣ Fā^ṣ princes the *lañ srañ* was not again performed until January 1887, in honour of the future King Rāma VI. Extant photographs as well as a skilfully made model in the National Museum enable us to appreciate that the ceremony was celebrated with a splendour which even more than the Tonsure may be held to vie with that of the Coronation itself.

CHAPTERS XI AND XII

CREMATION

p. 137, note 1. With regard to source (2) for *Kaṭhmāy* read *Catmāy*. The title was misunderstood by me since the work is actually a description of two eighteenth-century cremations, only the second one, that of Princess Yodhādeb, at the beginning of the last Ayudhyan reign, being complete and detailed. However it tells us nothing that is not already known from the Bangkok royal cremations, but serves to confirm the close adherence of the latter, at least the earlier ones, to the Ayudhyā model. Possibly it was the minute description of the Meru, and especially of the arrangement of the decorations and fixing of the curtains¹ together with the accompanying plans of the buildings, that led to my error, in the course of a too cursory examination. Surprisingly, no one has called attention to this.

p. 140, l. 7. Gold was also placed in the mouth in Burma and Annam. For its magical powers see J. Przyluski "L'or, son origine et

¹ This was commented on by Prince Dhani in *JSS*, liv, pt. 2, 1966, in connection with a recent re-edition of the Ayudhyā record.

ses pouvoirs magiques", *BEFEO*, XIV. In China it represented the *yang* principle (De Groot, *The Religious Systems of China*, I, p. 269). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*SBE*, XLIV, p. 203), gold is held to bestow immortality.

p. 141, last line. The comparison of the catafalque with Baksei Chamkrong should not be too closely pressed; for the Siamese it is essentially a Meru, just as is the pyre, and the great Urn resembles *prāsāda* spire (also a Meru). See *BEFEO*, XL, pt. 2, p. 319 footnote.

p. 143, l. 13. *For fifteenth read last.*

p. 144. *The Funeral Pyre.* For a recent study of this structure with architectural plans, see Phya Anuman Rajadhon "The Golden Meru", *JSS*, xlv, pt. 2, 1957, pp. 65-71. The author's suggestion (p. 66) that the Urn is a phallic symbol can scarcely be accepted.

p. 150, l. 30. Coedès (rev.) points out that the rhinoceros figured in an Añkor Vāt relief was there as the mount of Agni in the legend of Bāṇa (*Mem. EFEO*, II, pl. 402). Consequently the rhinoceros as bearer of Fire was indeed known at Añkor Vāt, though the relief is a late one.

p. 159, l. 4. *Delete*: with a certain amount of influence from Śrīvijaya.

p. 161, l. 17. *Delete*: if we had further evidence we should probably find that it was from that source [Śrīvijaya] that the Khmers derived many of their Brahmanical cremation rites.

p. 162, l. 9. There is no evidence that the Cult of the Deva-rāja was inherited by the first Thai kings.

p. 162, l. 10. *Delete*: the Khmer cult had been founded on Indian Brahmanism much elaborated by its passage through Śrīvijaya.

p. 163, l. 17. *The theory is that the King . . . is reborn.* The squatting position in the Urn (and in Cambodia the two pieces of cloth probably symbolizing amnion and chorion) may be intended to represent the position of the foetus, thus symbolizing rebirth. (Cf. *BEFEO*, XL, pt. 2, p. 318, and Leclère, *La Crémation et les rites funéraires*, p. 27.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE WORSHIP OF DEAD KINGS

p. 169, l. 9 from bottom. For the cult of the Deva-rāja see Notes to pages 29-30.

p. 171. *Add at end of first paragraph*: Coedès (rev.) considered that these statues in fact represent more than simple acts of merit, whatever

the Siamese know or care to admit. Without being a true portrait statue, an image made to commemorate a reign must have a certain relation to the royal person. Coedès thus thought that it probably derives from the Khmer apotheosis: "C'est la vieille tradition khmère des statues de *Kamrateñ jagat* transposée dans le bouddhisme siamois".

Besides the Buddha images cast for the kings of the Bangkok dynasty, Rāma IV also had images cast to commemorate the 34 kings of Ayudhyā and Dhanapurī (*BRB*, pp. 238 sqq.). But only those of the reigning dynasty were provided with umbrellas.

CHAPTER XIV

ROYAL AUDIENCES

p. 190. The idea of the audience bell persisted in the nineteenth century, though the bell was replaced in Rāma IV's reign by a drum, now in the National Museum. Coedès (rev.) thought that a Chinese origin of the custom was possible.

CHAPTER XV

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

The Drinking of the Water of Allegiance (*Bidhī śrīsaccapānakāla* or *thū' nām*), of such vital importance to absolute monarchy, was no longer performed after 1932, its place having been taken by Constitution Day.¹ Here I propose to extract from *BRB* a few more details of the old ceremony.

Within the *siñcana* thread, or hallowed area in the Chapel Royal, the statues of the Buddha representing the kings of the Cākri dynasty, were placed on a throne, with below them the Brahmanic books, statues of Śiva, Umā, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, three arrows and the Diamond Spear. On one side was placed the Sword of Victory, and on the other the royal title tablet. Other royal weapons, candles and utensils were also arranged before the Buddhas. Twelve silver bowls, with two basins between them were placed on a bench, all within the area enclosed by the sacred thread.

In earlier reigns few monks took part in the ceremony, but Rāma IV increased the number to thirty-seven, equal in number to the statues

¹ For this see K. Wells, op. cit., p. 203.

that had been cast to represent the kings of Ayudhyā, Dhanapurī, and Bangkok up to that time. (This was naturally one of the occasions on which the royal relics and statues were honoured.) The evening before the ceremony a scribe read a *prakāśa*¹ praising the dynasty, exhorting officials to fidelity and finally appealing to the *devatā* in the manner usual to *prakāśa*.² Then the monks recited *parittas*, and the Brahmans passages from their books, in preparation for the next day. *Binbādya* music (drums and gongs), but not *mahorī* (strings) was played.

In the morning, after the monks had been fed, the water for the Oath was prepared. A Brahman read certain verses giving the water power to destroy the disloyal. The language of this proclamation is Siamese but so archaic as to be scarcely intelligible. Rāma V believed it to date from the beginning of the Ayudhyā period and to have been introduced from India. There is nothing Buddhist about it; first Viṣṇu, then Śiva, and finally Brahmā are invoked and the creation is described. Then the king is praised, the false are cursed, the loyal promised reward.³

An innovation was made by Rāma IV to take place at this juncture, and it is especially interesting because so different from his usual Buddhist modifications. A document is known which tells us how this innovation came about. In 1853 the king was presented with some ornamental canes and after due consideration he decided to have three arrows made from them for this ceremony, because Bangkok is the city of Rāma or Viṣṇu. Details are given of their manufacture. At an auspicious time a rites hall was set up in the arsenal. Iron was brought and struck to form the arrow-heads, while *binbādya* music was played. Before images of the Hindu deities the shafts were affixed with appropriate ritual, a piece of gold engraved with a mystic symbol being placed in each socket, and auspicious names were given to each arrow.⁴ Feathers were attached with gold wire. At the waxing of the tenth moon, the arrows were taken to a sacred lake at Labapurī, where a rites hall was set up and monks chanted. At the auspicious moment the arrows were dipped in the lake while *binbādya* music was played and the Gong of Victory sounded. Cannon were fired four times and small arms continually. After a *vian dian* rite had been performed the three arrows were taken in procession to a *vāt* and Brahmanic *yantras* were inserted

¹ See below, Notes to Chapter XXVI.

² Full Siamese text in H.R.H. Prince Damrong's *Prakāśa Kāra Rājavidhī*, Vol. I, pp. 1-20.

³ *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 21-28.

⁴ Cf. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient South-east Asian Warfare*, pp. 149 sq., for another example of magic sword-making in Siam.

in each shaft. The arrows were then taken in procession back to Bangkok in time for the Oath-taking ceremony of the tenth month.

Here we may note the sound psychology of Rāma IV in recognizing that there was little scope for his usual Buddhist additions. More immediate effects in the way of putting teeth into the Oath might be achieved by representing Viṣṇu as a powerful local deity. In making these arrows the king enlisted the full power of this local Viṣṇu's wrath against any who should threaten the security of Rāma's capital (Bangkok). At the same time, so far as Buddhism was concerned, the identifying of the officiating Buddhist monks with the number of the previous Siamese kings, may be seen as a shrewd move to associate his predecessors with the sanctions. It should be added, however, that Rāma IV introduced the practice of the king also taking the Oath, this implying a certain reciprocity.

To return to the ceremony of Drinking the Water at the point where we left it. An image of Viṣṇu, armed with a bow, was placed in the middle of a basin filled with the consecrated water. The *Brah Mahā Rāja Grū* dipped each of the three arrows in the water, then made obeisance with joined palms. A secretary then read the Oath. The translation I reproduced from Miss Cort's book, though not very literal (e.g. as to the mention of specific guardian deities) gives an adequate idea of it. At line 2 p. 194 I inadvertently inserted Rāma IV, instead of Rāma V. The original of this translation is available in *Prakāśa*, Vol. I, pp. 28-36.

The Brahman acting as chief of the Vaiṣṇavas then received the royal weapons from an official. With a white cloth around his hand, and drawing the weapons from their scabbards, he dipped each in the water in each silver pot and basin. Some of the weapons used, notably the Sword of Victory and the Diamond Spear, also the Gun, were made in the first reign, others were made subsequently. After the dipping the monks recited *gathas*, and *binbādya* music was played without cease. Then the Brahmans added to the water in each vessel a little of the water into which the three arrows had previously been dipped, also some scented water which they had consecrated; so the water when actually drunk had a composite potency.

The princes drank the water inside the Chapel Royal, the officials in front of it, a somewhat shortened version of the Oath being read outside. The positions to be taken up by the various grades of nobles and officials inside and outside the Chapel, the regulations for taking the Oath by the chiefs of the Mōns (resident in Siam), by the wives of officials, by the members of the royal family in the palace, and the attire considered suitable, are all described in much detail in *BRB*.

As taken in the provincial towns, the Oath was similar though comparatively short.¹ Officials of the dependent provinces had to come up to the chief town of the province on which they depended. The ceremony took place at an important *vāt*, and the governor's sword of office was used.

King Rāma V states that there were five kinds of occasion for taking the Oath, as follows: (1) On the king's accession; (2) twice yearly, that at the fifth month being more important than that at the tenth; (3) for defeated enemies; (4) formerly some of the soldiers had to take the Oath every month, but in the fifth reign this was changed so that it was taken only on enlistment; (5) Army officers had to take the Oath on appointment to a new rank.

The hostage Lao and Khmer princes in Rāma III's reign had to come and take the Oath at the Chapel Royal, like ordinary officials, but the Malay rulers took an Oath according to Islam in the council chamber. In these earlier Bangkok reigns Europeans in the government service had to take the Oath administered by a Christian priest, in the Palace department. For both the Europeans and Malays in the government service the wording of the Oath was altered according to their respective religion. This is confirmed by La Loubère for the Ayudhyā period. He states that the king required all in his service to take an Oath of Allegiance, whatever their nation or religion.

There were some differences in the Ayudhyā period Oath-taking not previously mentioned by me, as follows: the *KM* states that death was the punishment of officials who did not come to the ceremony, or falsely gave illness as excuse for staying away. Equally on pain of death it was forbidden to wear gold or red-gold rings at the ceremony, to eat before it, or to fail to pour the last drops of the water from the cup onto one's head—evidently in token of humility. The same rules are laid down in the Cambodian *KM*, and were apparently practised until recent times.² In a passage not previously referred to by me Leclère makes remarks about the servility of the Cambodian oath similar to those I made about the Siamese. But whereas I compared the Siamese Oath adversely to that of the ancient Khmers he contrasted the Cambodian Oath to that of the proud and independent Malay who dipped his own weapon into the water previously consecrated by a royal weapon, letting some drops fall on his tongue.

Though it is obvious that the use of royal weapons to fortify the consecrated water implied contagious magic, the Oath itself being essentially an appeal to the *devatā* is certainly no less religious than

¹ The text is published in *Prakāśa* . . . Vol. I, pp. 26–28.

² *L.*, pp. 645 sqq.

magical, both in regard to the cursing of offenders and the blessing of the loyal.¹

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROYAL BOUNTY

p. 201, note 1. For further description of these warlike processions see the account of the royal progresses to visit the Buddha's Footprint in *JSS*, Vol. xxviii, 1935, pp. 8 sqq., and the account of King Nārāyaṇa's expedition against the Lao given in the (partial) translation of *HV* in *JSS*, Vol. xxix, pt. 2, 1936, pp. 124 sqq.

p. 211, note 1. For 92 read 93. The Regatta is also mentioned in *HV*.

p. 212. As royal bounty should also be included the *prā hvāt* monetary gifts distributed to officials in November. I have dealt with this in my *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 42, 226, 236.

CHAPTER XVII

ROYAL ANNIVERSARIES

p. 214, l. 7. Coedès (rev.) points out that high officials of commoner origin, and even European officials, were admitted to the Order of Cūlā Cōm Klāu.

p. 215, l. 6 from bottom. For *janam* read *janma*.

p. 216, l. 1. The festival of *Vaisākha Pūjā* was not instituted by Rāma IV, but was first performed in Bangkok in 1817, and may be of earlier origin (*BRB*, p. 427).

p. 216, l. 2. Indian kings celebrating their birthday is mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*.² As mentioned above, in connection with *Indrā-bhiṣeka*, it appears that in the Ayudhyā period the twenty-fifth birthday was especially celebrated.

p. 216, l. 3 from bottom. I omitted to mention the Releasing of Bad Luck (*BRB*, pp. 689–692) which was performed at this time. Up to 1878 it was a Brahmanical rite but since then the Brahmanic texts have been replaced by Buddhist *suttas*. The manner in which these are recited to “release bad luck” on the King's birthday is explained by Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 sqq.

¹ Cf. E. Crawley, *Studies of Savages and Sex*, London, 1929, pp. 271 sq.

² Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, 1928, p. 331.

CHAPTER XVIII

CEREMONIES FOR THE CONTROL OF WIND AND RAIN

p. 221, l. 8 from bottom. Kite-flying in the Ayudhyā period is mentioned in *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, p. 250, where its purpose is said to have been "for calling up the wind".

p. 224, l. 5. The meaning of the term applied to the attitude of the Buddha referred to here is "image of the Gandhāra kingdom" and is illustrated in *JSS*, Vol. x, 1913, p. 32 (Coedès, rev.). For fuller information on the Buddhist features of *Baruṇa Sātra*, see Wells, op. cit., pp. 190-195.

p. 225. Coedès (rev.) referred to the existence of another rain-making rite, in which a female cat played the chief part, and was known as the "procession of madam cat", but on the details of which he had no information. As a purely popular rite it is barely mentioned in *BRB*, p. 564, and is indeed outside the scope of the present work. However, we now have a detailed description of it, and of other popular rain-making rites, from the pen of Phya Anuman Rajadhon.¹

p. 226, l. 11. Coedès (rev.) thought that the early European writers in referring to the water being cut with a sword might have actually observed another ceremony, which would have been similar to a Cambodian rite in which a sword is used. Presumably he had in mind the Cambodian rite mentioned lower down on the same page.

CHAPTER XX

THE SWINGING FESTIVAL

p. 238, l. 2. *Trīyāmbavāy Trīpavāy*. *JIH* review connects these words with the "well-known (Tamil) poems Tiruvēmpāvai of Mānikavāsākar and Tiruppāvai, the Vaiṣṇava hymn of Āṇḍāl, both of them of similar import, sung usually early in the morning in the respective shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu, in Mārgaśīrṣa, the first month of the year of Viṣṇu".

p. 241, l. 5 from bottom. It is said that in earlier times those swingers who failed to snatch the purse were liable to be roughly handled. There is support for this in *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, p. 251, where it is stated that such unsuccessful swingers (referred to as Brahmins) were buried up to the waist, and their swing-seat was buried too.

p. 242, ll. 15 and 21. For *senan* read *sneṇ*.

¹ "Fertility rites in Thailand", *JSS*, Vol. xlviii, pt. 2, Nov. 1960, pp. 37-42.

p. 246, l. 18. With reference to my suggestion that the Siamese ceremony has been influenced more particularly by the form of the festival known in southern India, it is of interest to note what Soma Sundara Desikar, Pandit, Tamil Lexicon, Madras University, wrote to me in a letter dated February 8th, 1939. After referring similarly to the Tamil poems mentioned above, he adds that Swinging "is a common festival in all the Śaiva shrines of South India and probably dates from the 5th century A.D. It has found its way strangely enough into Vaiṣṇavism which adopted it sometime after the 9th or 10th century A.D. The festival proper is in honour of Śiva and finishes off on the first or second day of the waxing moon in December-January, generally taking place about Christmas time . . . It therefore becomes necessary to seek for light in these matters in the Tamil country."

p. 249, l. 7 from bottom. *Uluṇ*. The writer of the above letter further remarked that "the word 'uluṇ' is *uluppai* in Tamil and means presents of fruits, etc., or offerings of them".

p. 252, ll. 17, 32. The "mortar" is in fact a quern.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST PLOUGHING

The evening before the First Ploughing a Buddhist ceremony, known as Blessing the Seed Rice took place. It was introduced by Rāma IV in accordance with his usual practice of making Buddhist additions to hitherto Brahmanical ceremonies. The Buddhist service, together with translations of the texts read, is described by Wells, op. cit., pp. 187-190.

p. 257, l. 25. As to the omens to be drawn from whichever commodity the oxen choose to partake of, Coedès (rev.) points out that the Siamese appear to have lost the exact meaning of the animals' choice, this being better preserved by the Cambodians (cf. L, p. 169).

p. 261, bottom line. There is no evidence for a Khmer ploughing ceremony; it is not mentioned by Cheou Ta-Kouan (Coedès, rev.).

CHAPTER XXII

TEMPORARY KINGS

p. 269, l. 10 from bottom. Coedès (rev.) remarks that there is no evidence for Khmer temporary kings. However, I would suggest that it is possibly significant that Cheou Ta-Kouan stated that the king was not present at the burning of the padi ceremony.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE WHITE ELEPHANT

p. 276, l. 23. *For* Bakong *read* Bayon.

p. 282. Death of a White Elephant. The White Elephant of the seventh reign (pictured in his extreme youth in our Pl. XLIII) "died on 19th January, 1943. He was then just 18 years old. His carcass was handed to the animal welfare department, and his skeleton kept for educational purposes. Perhaps because of the war, perhaps because times and beliefs change, he was given no ceremonial funeral."¹

CHAPTER XXIV

FEASTS OF LAMPS

p. 288, note 1. The sources do not include *NN* and *KM*, since the "*Còn Parian*" mentioned in them actually refers to *Lòy Brah Prahdīp*. It is mentioned in *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, p. 250.

p. 289. In the *Còn Parian* 200 coloured lanterns were also erected around the palace walls (*BRB*, p. 12) and this would account for the "magnificent illumination" that so impressed La Loubère.

p. 292, note 1. *Lòy Brah Prahdīp* is also mentioned in *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, p. 250, and under the name "*Còn Parian*" in *KM*. Coedès (rev.) drew attention to the description of a comparable ceremony among the Burmese, described by C. Duroiselle in *BEFEO*, IV, p. 415; and also mentions an evidently corresponding practice of the Môn of Lāmbūn recorded in the *Jinakālamālīnī*, *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 82, note 1.

CHAPTER XXV

MINOR BRAHMANICAL CEREMONIES

p. 297. *Snāna*. In its heyday this was scarcely a "minor" ceremony. King Rāma V in *BRB* gives a detailed order of procession for the third reign, the last period during which it was possible to carry out the celebrations in the traditional manner, because after that war elephants were too few in number. No document survives giving an order of procession for a previous reign. After the third reign the character of the ceremony was altered owing to Rāma IV trying to give

¹ *The Borneo Story*, London, 1957, p. 83.

this essentially Brahmanical ceremony a Buddhist purpose. But the rope uncoiling and coiling ritual remained unchanged until abolished in the fifth reign; some further details from *BRB* are here given.

The ritual was hedged about by certain taboos: thus no women were allowed to be present, or indeed anyone not concerned with the ceremony. Playfully mimicking the dance outside could lead to madness. The *Br̥dhipāśa* (*Vṛddhipāśa*) Brahmins performed the rites in honour of Viṣṇu on the lines I have described in connection with the Swinging: first the usual purificatory rites, then the honouring of the images on the *Bhadrapīṭha*, with reading of "Festival of Elephants" text and blowing of conches. Two gold dishes of popcorn and flowers for the king and two silver ones for officials were displayed, a custom which began with King Nārāyaṇa who was regularly present. Though since then no king ever attended, the custom was maintained to the end. It appears that the noose dance, accompanied by *binbādya* music was not performed by the Brahmins, but by an official of the elephant department who was skilled at it. He announced that he was Viṣṇu, when that deity changed his appearance to that of an elephant in order to teach elephant-hunting to four people who were going to catch the one-tusked elephant. So presumably imitative magic is concerned. No adequate description of the dance exists, and King Rāma V says that it had to be witnessed to be appreciated. It seems to have been lively and entertaining. In the Bangkok period the Brahmins were rewarded for carrying out the ritual with a *tamlung* of silver and white cloth for the image stands, also other material required for the rites.

There is mention of *vṛddhipāśa* treatises being known to the Sukho-daya king in the inscription of Nagara Jum, A.D. 1357. This inscription was published by Coedès,¹ and in connection with it he quoted from Tachard a passage showing that Brahmins were concerned with King Nārāyaṇa's elephant-catching, it seems in order to tame them with consecrated water.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PROPITIATION OF SPIRITS

p. 302, l. 11 from bottom. *For* Shrine of the Pillar of the Lord of the Country *read* Shrine of the Spirit of the City Pillar. Chiangmai has

¹ G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Part I, Bangkok, 1924, p. 88, and *JSS* xiii, pt. 3, p. 37.

a similar pillar, named Indakhila, housed in a special shrine which is illustrated by C. Notton on the plate facing p. 32 of his translation of the *Chronicle of Suvanna Khamdēng*. In the same work (pp. 57 sqq.) he gives details of the offerings made to the Chiangmai guardian deities.

My section on the Guardian Spirits of Cities did less than justice to the importance of securing the protection and goodwill of these spirits and other local *devatā* in connection with the state ceremonies, and indeed with most royal occasions. At least until very recent times it was the custom for an official to read out an address called *prakāśa devatā*, "appeal to the heavenly powers", with appropriate variations, at the beginning of each such occasion. Prince Damrong collected a large number of these, dating from both the Bangkok and the Ayudhyā periods, which he published in two octavo volumes totalling 500 pages, *Prakāśa Kāra Rājavidhī*, Bangkok, 1913. The city guardian spirits, the spirits of the royal umbrella, as well as a host of atmospheric and local *devatā* are in each case invoked. K. Wells¹ has given an English translation of the *prakāśa* used at New Year and on the King's Birthday, which give an adequate idea of their contents. Furthermore, the Oath of Allegiance is essentially a *prakāśa*, appealing to the deities for protection against traitors, and is couched in very much the same terms. A somewhat unusual one I noticed in Prince Damrong's collection (Vol. II, pp. 202 sq.) is an appeal made for the recovery of a royal riding elephant, suffering from fever and off its feed for three days, with the promise of offerings to be made by the king if the request is granted. A sequel records that the elephant has recovered and mentions the candle and *pai-srī* offerings which were then made, coupled with a further appeal for the animal's continued well-being. Other types of occasion on which I have noticed in literature references to the guardian spirits being invoked include: prior to the launching of military campaigns, during the siege of Ayudhyā, and at the birth of a royal child. These varied examples will place the importance of the guardian genii in better perspective.

p. 307. Harvey in his *History of Burma*, p. 320, appends a note on *Myosade*, the Burmese name for human victims buried as guardian spirits. In addition to giving the Burmese evidence he refers to *ERE*, s.vv. "Bridge" and "Foundation, Foundation Rites" for examples showing that the practice has been world-wide. For the custom in Cambodia and Laos, see Mme. E. Porée Maspero, "Notes sur les particularités du culte chez les Cambodgiens", *BEFEO*, XLIV, pt. 2, p. 639.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 184, 197.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EXPULSION OF EVIL

p. 308. The General Expulsion of Evil at New Year. K. Wells¹ summarizes Rāma V's discussion of the popular belief in evil spirits, and he also mentions that the *Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra* is translated in *SBE*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-197. In addition to the sources already mentioned, there is a brief description in *Evidence of the People of Ayudhyā*, p. 251.

p. 309. The Expulsion of Disease. R. Lingat's source for his description of the cholera epidemic of 1820 is Prince Damrong's *History of the Second Reign*, pp. 279 sq. The ceremony for the expulsion of disease, performed in the cholera epidemics of 1811 and 1820, but thereafter abandoned, was known as *ābādhabināśa*. According to *BRB*, apart from the special features of the processions with Buddhist images, it had much in common with the yearly expulsion of evil, such as the closing of the city and palace gates, the drawing of the sacred thread around the buildings, the firing of guns and the recitation of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra*.

p. 311. A Royal Exorcism. A Cambodian ceremony of royal exorcism is described by Leclère.² It probably had its parallel at the Siamese court.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

p. 315, l. 6. The word evolution is used here and elsewhere in this book (e.g. pp. 235, 247, 265) in a loose sense to mean change of any kind and not in its strict sense as meaning "a process of opening out or developing what is contained or implied in something". As correctly stated on page 317, line 7, we are frequently confronted with "a series of superimposed rites, the objects of which have often been forgotten or confused". As with Siamese architecture there is a joining or juxtaposition of elements from diverse sources. Change is thenceforward likely to be in the direction of degeneration. The adoption of the widespread institution of Temporary Kings (p. 265) is hardly likely to have been the result of local invention, and in the absence of any sign of moulding the borrowed institution in a specific direction, the later stages in the "evolution" really signify cultural loss.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 185 sq.

² L., pt. V, ch. VI.

p. 315, l. 3 from bottom. See Note referring to page 19, line 28, with regard to Buddhism at Lāmbūn.

p. 316, l. 7. *For 1656-84 read 1657-1688.*

There is nothing in the main conclusions as formulated in this chapter that I now see any reason to alter, with the inevitable reminder that there was a change of regime in Siam the year after this book was published, and the Monarchy was Absolute no more. So our interest in the time when, as Coedès put it at the beginning of his review, "le salut même de l'Etat dépendait de la célébration ponctuelle des cérémonies royales" becomes more essentially historical. So far, that is, as our main subject matter is concerned. But this I already anticipated, while foreseeing a continuing function for Buddhist ceremonial. On my recent visits to Siam I have seen no reason to doubt the validity of the prophetic note on which I closed the book: "With the growth of education the change to a democratic form of government is certain to come sooner or later, and the beneficent influence of Buddhism manifested in every Ceremony of State will probably do much to mollify the dangers of the period of transition."